

rights made to them, either by England or France.) To justify the piratical privateering of the Secessionists, you are forced to stretch equality between them and the rebels, and to recognize in the rebels a distinct nation, a regular Government.

To be a real belligerent—and not one by *concession* and *inference*—it is *absolutely* required of a people that they shall be a fully independent nation, under a Government fully recognized and responsible to other Governments. But if a Southern privateer to-day or tomorrow destroys a neutral property, where is the responsibility for such destruction? Before what courts or government will the claims of the sufferers be presented? What will then become of the recognition of regular belligerents in rebels and pirates?

To address another case: If the house or property of any of the foreign Consuls in the rebelled regions were attacked or destroyed, or his person injured, where is to-day the nation or the Government to be held to account and made responsible for it?

Nay; the foreign Consuls residing now in the rebel ports and cities, and acting officially there in behalf of their respective Governments, derive *all* their legal character from *exequaturs* granted them by the President of the United States. What, then, is the condition of a nation, and of a Government as a member of international community, and consequently that of the regular belligerent? All of which you so broadly and so absolutely claim and assert for the Southern rebels and for their piratical craft?

The comparison of militias and of volunteers to pirates, or conceding, for argument's sake, to what you call privateers, must be highly flattering to the French National Guards and the English Volunteers. Surely, it shows your eagerness to serve the slave-traders, and to abuse the champions of right, justice, and civilization, and proves your want of familiarity with the spirit of a civil life and its institutions.

You plead for the right of the rebels to issue letters of marque. This pleading is based on a fallacious conception of the right of Secession, and on your intense desire to invent the rebels, as quickly as possible, with the full, high, and noble condition and attributes of a nation—a character which is not yet accorded to them even by the official proclamations of the French and English Governments.

In case the Southern pirates are dealt with according to the law of the United States, you menace the country with the intervention of the civilized nations. These nations can but do not put an end to the influence which arm the assassin hands of a Borgias and Chivones, those twin brethren of your Southern heroes.

The President of the United States does not want beforehand an authorization from the Senate to offer or conclude a convention or treaty with a foreign power; but when such treaties are drafted and concluded by the Secretaries or by diplomatic agents, the President submits them for the sanction of the Senate. All foreign Governments are familiar with this mode of proceeding, and hence the more astounding is your assertion that, when the President offered his accession to the Treaty of Paris, he did this in violation of the Constitution.

As yet no treaty between the Rebels and any European power has established those relations of international amity and kindness which you invoke from the neutrals in favor of your piratical proteges.

You, Sir, know far better than I, that the international doctors disagree concerning the influence and bearing of extinct treaties upon new events and countries. They likewise disagree as to the availability of absolute deduction of principles and axioms from the letter and the spirit of the various treaties.

When a treaty is extant, is dissolved or applied, its letter as well as its spirit must equally be considered. In your eagerness to serve the Southern Slave-rey, and to put it under the cover of treaties concluded between the United States and various foreign Governments, you stretch to the utmost, and even break the above-mentioned rule. All these various treaties were concluded by a President of the Union, and afterward confirmed by a Senate; both Senate and President acting in virtue of the Constitution which your proteges attempt to destroy. This is the Constitution which the rebels tear to pieces, repudiating all the duties imposed, all the powers conferred, and derived from it, thus deliberately annihilating—as far as they are concerned—all the laws of the land; and such are the treaties made under the authority of that Constitution.

The freedom of the seas, the sanctity of private property in whatever condition, all these constitute the American international creed. I refer you to Dr. Phillimore, Vol. I, page 318, as evidence that America may claim to be the first country which has systematically endeavored to abolish the practice of privateering. It would have been more candid in you, in speaking so lengthily of the Convention of Paris, 1856, to have rendered justice to the almost centennial efforts of the Americans, and above all to have accorded justice to the action of Mr. Marcy, and to the spirit of his diplomatic instructions.

The mastery, statesmanlike, and patriotic correspondence of Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, with the foreign Powers in relation to the Convention of Paris, will show you how unfounded are your fears, presumptions, and vaticinations, concerning privateering, and any other impediments or obstructions thrown into the way of normal commercial relations between Europe and this country, but rendered inevitable by the most infernal treason and rebellion.

You will find there that, as far as possible, everything injurious to the honest interests of neutrals is in every manner avoided. Nay, for this reason, and to protect neutrals from (for them) imaginary difficulties, the Government of the United States has willingly and deliberately given up—under reservation, however—the exercise of its absolute, unquestionable sovereign right of clearing ports of entry, and has used the milder mode of blockade. See, Sir, the celebrated case of the English vessel Vixen, and the Franco-English official correspondence concerning Portendie in 1834-35.

The perusal of the State papers published by the President of the United States, and of the report of the Secretary of the Navy of December 2, 1861, will, I hope, wholly convince you how groundless are all the reasonings and disquisitions made by you in reference to the blockade now established along the coast of the Rebel region. In the "Quebec Questions," etc., you wrote the paragraph upon blockade under the fixed idea that the United States intended to establish a fictitious or paper blockade. "Nemo capiens nisi patiens," if you could have waited for the progress of events, you would have escaped an unnecessary anxiety of mind, and would not have tortured—may I misunderstand you—the words of the notification of Commodore Pendraght. I refer you still further to the case of the English vessel Perthshire, in the above-mentioned diplomatic correspondence.

Your anxiety as to what will, or will not, constitute contraband of war—when such a case shall occur—will very likely be quieted by the decisions of Courts of Admiralty, decisions to be made in the spirit of the prevailing and existing treaties, nations, usages, or modifications evoked by the current of political and other events. I shall not protest against your insinuations concerning the conduct of England and her knowing the spirit of any American compa-

trists. I fervently protest against the insinuations contained on page 65, relative to any expectative confiscation of French property when found in an enemy's ship. Even-handed justice will be observed toward England as toward France, and certainly not against France would be turned the sharpest edge.

It would be convenient to the rebels, and their European champions, if, by various international tricks and insinuations, they could enforce upon the Union the abandonment of her right of sovereignty, and the recognition of any legal condition whatever in the rebels, and thus justify and whitewash their treason. But those are *pus desideria*.

You are not the only one, Sir, who has misunderstood and misrepresented the origin, the right, the various legal and social causes, and effects, of this most odious revolt recorded in human history. You are not the only one who, with your science, hastens to the rescue of traffickers in human flesh and in human morality.

The short-sighted, narrow-minded free-traders justify this abominable treason, on the ground that it results from the Morrill tariff, and from some kind of imaginary industrial oppression. Other would-be savans establish a kind of difference of race between the slave-drivers, slave-breeders, and slave-traffickers of the South and the free men of the Union. All absolute conclusions, drawn from ethnology, evidence a colossal ignorance of man and of history. But, when they are applied to the present content, such assertions and conclusions escape all intelligent appreciation. The Southern planters and the Northern free men, in immense majority, descend from the same promiscuous English, Scotch, and Irish stem. Nay, the North (or the Free State) throws its roots over the South, and thus many actual leaders of treason spring from sires of the Free State, while some were even born there.

Domesticated animals, let loose in the wilderness, become beastly and savage. So Slaveocracy, this social bestiality, perverts and alters the character of the once-civilized, moral, peaceful, law-abiding free man. That is all the somewhat-spoken-of difference of race between the traitor, the rebel, and the man of right and law.

It is sad to see the spectacle of noble minds degrading the most abominable causes. Or is it true that intellectual anarchy now ravages in Europe? Who knows, Sir, but perhaps your next publication will altogether defend the fundamental and favorite social institution of your proteges, Slavery, slave-breeding, and slave-trading—all these twin-sisters of piracy. Who knows what you may do, or if the noble Passaglia defends the rights of Italy, or M. Guizot, the Protestant, exchanges, so to say, dress and character with the theologian and the Jesuit.

Washington, Dec. 14, 1861. GUROWSK.

ARRIVAL OF A BRITISH PRIZE.

The British schooner Jane Campbell of Liverpool, formerly the Herndon of Washington, N. C., was on Thursday afternoon brought into this port as a prize, by Acting Master John Baker of the bark Beaufort.

She was taken by the steamer State of Georgia off Beaufort; from Liverpool for Havana, with a cargo of salt and some fannel; had been off Beaufort some days, and was seized by order of the Commodore of the fleet. She was towed to the Navy-Yard.

STARVING SOLDIERS.

SIR: In utter despair of having justice done us by appealing to the military authorities, I have been deputed by the members of our Company to write a note for publication in your influential paper, for the purpose of stating in brief one of the many impositions to which the Volunteer regiments have been subjected, by unscrupulous quartermasters and commissaries, knowing well that you have the interests of each individual soldier as much at heart as you have those of our country at large. Without taxing your space unduly, I wish merely to give you a plain statement of the manner in which we have been starved while on this island for the last week.

In the appendix to "Hardee," the following table is given of army rations:

	One ration.	100 rations.
Wheat (whole)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (middling)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (fine)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (superfine)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (extra)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (choice)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (select)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (prime)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
Wheat (super)	12 lb.	1200 lb.
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